1: Rattray E, G-5 (ca. 1920)1932
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Kusase

606 will lose his wife; they can take her from him and return him the cows.'

607 *Privileged Familiarity*: 'A man may play and be familiar with his
603 sister's husband. A man can also be familiar with his grandparents,
648 for when a man has grand-children who drag him about, he blesses the Sky-God.[1] We, Kusase, also "play together" (*deem taba*) with the Mampruse and the Gurense, because these tribes intermarry with us, and we have never sold each other, but the Moshi we never play with, for we used to sell them for food. The Gambaga and Bawku people, however, play with the Moshi, saying when they meet one, "Where do you come from, you worthless thing; I have heard that the Chief of your town is dead?" The Moshi will reply, "You fellow with the filed teeth, get out of my way; be off with you", and he will rush right into a man's compound as if it belonged to him.

'A man's mother's brother's daughter's husband (*daki*) may beat
607 him in fun. A man can swear at his wife's brothers (*ti tu tab*); we curse each other.'

582 *Marriages Prohibited and Allowed*: 'Kusase do not marry Moshi women; they eat fowls, when they ought to eat guinea-fowls.' As long as your own wife is alive, you must not marry your wife's sister's
[587] daughter. You may marry your wife's sister while your wife is still alive, but not a *nyere*[2] sister. A son may not marry a father's widow, because a son sacrifices to his father's spirit.[3]

764 *Kusase Funeral Customs*: The Kusase do not bury even a *Yi-dan* (head of a compound) in a room or yard of his compound, but outside in the *saman* farm. The head of a compound is, however, given a separate and new grave (*yaog*); this is round with a circular bottle-neck mouth. The soil is not filled in. The mouth of the grave is covered with a pot and plastered over with earth (see Fig. 88).

Graves are not communal, at most two persons being buried in one grave. The second person so buried may not be,

(*a*) Junior to the first.
(*b*) *Nyere* to him or her.
(*c*) Any wife, save the last surviving.
(*d*) Two children may not be buried in the same grave 'because they would quarrel'.

A male is buried in a goat skin; a female buried naked, save for a

[1] A grandchild may not look into a grandparent's ears or he or she will become deaf.
[2] See p. 8. [3] But see p. 508.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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593 602 sees any of Ɔmara's children misbehaving he can stop them and punish them if necessary. But ordinarily, though he can scold Ɔmara's children, he would cause grave offence to Ɔmara if he were to strike them. When, to quote a case that occurred in a similar structural setting, Pumaan's son threw a stone at Zaŋ's (Pumaan's younger brother's) wife, Zaŋ shouted anathemas at the boy and complained to the neighbours but dared not whip him; that was Pumaan's prerogative. For Zaŋ and Pumaan have separate households and are both sticklers for their rights. By contrast, Bɔyazie, who lives and farms with his older brother and gets on extremely well with him, can command obedience from and can discipline the latter's children by corporal punishment if need be. But even in such a case a man might hesitate to strike his brother's children if he and his brother were not on terms of the greatest mutual trust. If Saandi asks his brother's son to do an errand or a job for him the boy will usually obey, but he cannot be compelled to do so, as he can by his own father. Co-wives, as we know, are particularly cautious in dealing with one another's children.

593 There is, however, at any given time, only one man who has full paternal authority over a person, child or adult. In the first instance it is the man who begot him or her; and if this man dies, it is the man who takes on his social role, that is his distinctive rights and duties, by inheritance. The critical rights and duties are those connected with the land and other patrimonial property which the child's father owned or was heir to, and those connected with the cult of the child's father's father. In practice this means the head of the household to which the child belongs, who is also the person who sacrifices to the child's grandfather's spirit; and this limits the range to the child's father's brothers by the same father.

429 428 602 During a child's minority a father's agnatic cousin (brother in native terms) may act *in loco parentis* if the father's nearer male agnates are lacking; but it is a position of trusteeship rather than of full paternal authority. The son will set up an independent household as soon as he is able to farm for himself. He will then take possession of any land which his father acquired by his own efforts and will become the effective owner of, for example, bride-price cattle obtained for his own sister, though he cannot dispose of them without the formal consent of the head of the nuclear lineage. In relation to an adult, a father's cousin (or remoter classificatory 'brother' of the same inner lineage) retains only the ritual and jural attributes of a father; and this chiefly in virtue of being head of the inner or nuclear lineage to which the person belongs. Important as these attributes are, they represent a less direct and personal authority than that of one's own or one's proxy father.

●603 We shall see later that the relations between grandchildren (*yaaŋ*, pl. *yaas*) and grandparents (*yaab-doog* or *ba-kpeem*, masc. *yaab-pɔk* or

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ma-kpeem, fem.) are a foil to those of parents and children. It is convenient here to state the range within which grandparents are acknowledged. On both the mother's side and the father's side grandparents are primarily one's own parent's own parents. The terms are extended to own grandparents' siblings (in particular to a grandfather's brothers) and their wives, but rarely beyond that limit, and never, in my experience, beyond a grandfather's agnatic cousin. This is correlated with the cycle of development of the joint family. By the time a man has grandchildren he is not likely to be still sharing a homestead with his brother, let alone cousin, and his classificatory siblings will have only a formal interest in his grandchildren.

The diagram on p. 148 sums up this discussion of the range of parenthood acknowledged by the Tallensi.

The Significance of 'Having no Father alive'

Clearly the formula 'Begetting does not cross the (inner) lineage' covers a complicated tissue of social relationships. Another aspect of it appears in the significance Tallensi attach to whether or not one's father is alive.

This is a matter of considerable practical importance, more particularly for men, but also for women. A person's status in his clan, and in every segment of it to which he belongs, depends largely on whether 'his father is alive (*u ba be*)' or not (*u ba ka*). It is correlated with the distribution of jural and ritual authority and responsibility in the lineage. During his own father's lifetime a person's status is submerged in that of his father for jural and ritual purposes. He comes directly under his father's authority, as we shall see presently. He attains his first degree of independence only on the death of his own father. This is shown to some extent in every department of his life, but most significantly in the sphere of ritual. A man cannot make sacrifices to his patrilineal ancestors in his own right while his own father is alive. His father does this on his behalf. It is only when his father dies that a man can sacrifice directly to his ancestors; for such sacrifices can only be offered through the medium of his father's spirit.

This marks a very important stage in a man's social maturation, whatever his chronological age may be. Henceforth the responsibility for keeping the goodwill of his ancestors rests directly on his own shoulders. It will be he himself, for instance, not his father, who decides whether a sacrifice demanded by such-and-such an ancestor should be offered at once or postponed. And with this first stage of ritual responsibility usually goes some degree of autonomy in jural and economic matters, as we shall see presently. Nevertheless, no man attains full autonomy within the limits of the lineage system until he is altogether 'fatherless'. While he has a proxy or classificatory father alive he is still to some extent under paternal authority. It is worth

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PLATE 12

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a. A grandfather with his son's children

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b. The effective minimal lineage: the father, his eldest son (working in the distance), his two small sons, and his two grandchildren out on the farm for the day

[facing p. 209]

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CHAPTER IX

GRANDPARENTS AND GRANDCHILDREN

603 596 WE have mentioned earlier that the relations of grandparents and grandchildren can be regarded as a foil to those of parents and children. Tallensi themselves often draw the contrast. It is particularly striking with the paternal grandparents. For in a three-generation joint family the head is a grandfather and the senior *dugdaana* a grandmother. As head of the family the grandfather holds jural, economic, and ritual authority over all its members, including those whom he calls grandchildren, and there is a contrast between his authority and his familiarity in personal relations with his grandchildren. It reflects the contrast between the cleavage due to difference of status and role in terms of the lineage principle and the ties of cognatic kinship between grandchildren and paternal grandparents. This contrast does not occur with the maternal grandparents, in whose relations with a daughter's child the question of authority does not arise. When Tallensi say that a person can die happily if he or she has 'reached grandchildren (*paa yaas*)' they refer primarily to paternal grandparent and grandchild.

603 601 A grandchild of either sex refers to a grandfather of either line as *ba-kpeem*, literally 'older father', or more formally as *yaab*, and to a grandmother of either line as *ma-kpeem*, literally 'older mother', or more formally as *yaab-pɔk*. Grandparents are addressed by personal name or, in the case of grandmothers, by the clan name used for them by their affines. A grandchild is described as *yaaŋ* by any of its grandparents and addressed by his or her own name.

603 The essential feature of the relationship between grandchild and grandparent is that they can tease and joke with each other and each other's spouses. As we have seen, between parent and child this would be almost equal to sacrilege. A grandchild can tweak his grandparent's ear—hence the diviner's sign for grandparent, pointing to the ear—or pretend to mock him or her as 'an old baggage (*bonkərəga*)' or play practical jokes on them such as snatching at their food. Grandparents, reciprocally, tease their grandchildren, calling them 'you ugly thing (*bonlərəga*)', or by similar epithets that would be insults in another genealogical context. This joking relationship holds for both sets of grandparents, and serves the purpose of reconciling the potentially conflicting elements in their relationship.[1]

With it goes an intimacy and mutual trust, more particularly between

[1] Cf. the similar usage between siblings-in-law, p. 120. Joking in the present case reconciles the familiarity permissible on the grounds of personal interest and the social equivalence of alternate generations, with the respect due to grandparents because of their age and their lineage status.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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patrilineal grandparent and grandchild of the same sex, such as is not found between any other kinsfolk, close or distant. Its nearest parallel is the relationship of full siblings. And as a grandchild grows older this aspect of its relations with its grandparent becomes stronger. Nothing delights grandparents so much as to take care of their grandchildren in babyhood or early childhood. Children often sleep with a grandparent, as we have noted. A woman whose father- or mother-in-law is alive always has someone with whom to leave her baby. Joking is one of the ways in which the grandparent shows his or her joy in the child. But as the grandchild grows older and begins to associate on more adult terms with its grandparents, these demonstrations of affection become unnecessary. Occasionally, as mood and situation dictate, a grandfather or grandmother will throw out a jest at a grandchild. Thus I once heard an old man call out to his grandson's wife with a laugh, as she sauntered past, that she ought to get a wider back *voog* (the decorated flap worn by women over the intergluteal fold) as the one she was wearing was immodest. But it is more likely to be the grandchild who occasionally throws a jest at the grandparent.

There is, then, a kind of freedom and equality between grandparents and grandchildren which could not exist between parents and children. A grandparent does not normally discipline a grandchild. A paternal grandmother has no command over her son's children. I have heard a crotchety old grandmother complain of her grandchildren's noisy habits and lack of obedience but have never heard of a grandmother punishing her grandchildren. The gifts given to her by a granddaughter's suitors are brought as a gesture of respect for the senior woman of the house, but she cannot, as a rule, influence her granddaughter's choice. A paternal grandfather often gives an order to a grandchild or administers a scolding. Tallensi, however, think of a grandfather's scolding as something quite different from a father's discipline. They regard it as a friendly correction. If serious disciplinary action against a grandson is necessary, a grandfather leaves it to his son. A grandfather's jural and ritual authority over a grandson or granddaughter follows from his being the head of the joint family, 'owning' all its members. Thus he can override his son in such matters as the marriage of the latter's son or daughter. But if there is a conflict of wills between him and his grandchild in such a matter he will rely on his son to enforce his decision.

I remember the occasion when Maanlɛrɔg eloped with his sister's husband's younger sister in defiance of the veto of the elders of the inner lineage. Nyaaŋzum, Maanlɛrɔg's own late paternal grandfather's half-brother, as head of the nuclear lineage, stormed and raged but he could do nothing directly. 'Why don't you control your sons?' he shouted at his 'sons' (his late brothers' sons) Tiezien and Bɔyaraam, the culprit's 'fathers'. In fact, it is notorious that grandparents spoil their grandchildren, especially their oldest grandchildren, those whose birth makes

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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603 them into grandparents. Again, this is especially marked with the paternal grandparents. The first-born son among Namoos, in whom the cleavage between parents and children is focused, is his grandparents' particular favourite. His grandmother will always have some titbit for him to eat, his grandfather tries to shield him from his father's authority. 'Look at Nəbya', said Samane of his first-born son, 'he spends his time in play [that is, having a good time]. He never lacks for anything. He does not want to work. That is because he is the oldest grandchild. When he was a child he used to be with his grandparents always and they spoilt him. Now he goes to his grandfather if he wants anything.' The story of Kpana-Tee and his grandson, which we have previously related, is typical of many cases in which father and son disagree and even quarrel over the latter's treatment of his son. The alternate generations seem to be in league against the generation between them.

Maternal grandparents spoil their daughter's children in the same way, but there is not the feeling that they are acting in opposition to the parents. Maternal grandparents do not see so much of their daughter's children as paternal grandparents of their son's children. But from infancy a child is often taken to visit its maternal grandparents, and children over 4 or 5 are sometimes left in the care of their mother's mother for days or weeks on end. This is a kind of holiday for the child and is generally greatly enjoyed. Also, as we have mentioned before, a motherless child, especially a little girl, is often sent to her maternal grandmother and may grow up with her.

603 765 The death of a grandchild is felt as a heavy blow by grandparents of both lines. But they do not have to undergo special mourning rites as parents have to. Curiously enough, it is the maternal grandparents, and in particular the grandmother, who is singled out by custom as the greatest sufferer by the loss of a grandchild. The maternal grandparents may not attend the funeral of their grandchild, though their children may. They must grieve alone at home. And if it is a daughter's first-born dying in babyhood a special rite of consolation has to be performed at the maternal grandparents' home. After the infant's mother has been ritually purified she goes to her mother's house accompanied by one or two co-wives and carrying gifts from her husband. When she arrives a simple and very moving rite is carried out symbolizing the consolation offered by the child's father's people to its grandmother, almost as if the father's people were apologizing for the child's death. Then mother and daughter weep together and the daughter remains for a few days to keep her mother company. Tallensi say that this is done because the grandmother has lost her *soog*.[1] They have no explanation for the taboo against maternal grandparents attending a grandchild's funeral. It can be con-

[1] Cf. Ch. II above. The rite is a reflection of the recognition of the uterine tie as a personal tie. It symbolizes, also, the recognition of a woman's parents, in particular of her mother, as the source of her reproductive powers.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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jectured that the taboo is connected with the fact that the rights over a woman's reproductive powers belong to her husband and must not be confounded with her parents' authority over her. If they came to the funeral of their daughter's child they would have to be received with respect, and it might seem as if they were on a par with the child's paternal grandparents. For the same reason, perhaps, a married woman's parents do not attend her funeral in person, but are represented by other members of her natal family and lineage.

For a man his son's children stand for the certainty that his line of descent will go on. The wheel of the generations has come full circle. When he and his wife die it will be announced to all the world. On the day of his or her funeral the youngest grandson will be placed before a drum with the drumsticks in his hands and the youngest granddaughter before a calabash with two pieces of cane in her hands. When the signal is given for the funeral to begin they will strike the drum and calabash and cry out, 'Oh my grandfather, oh my grandfather, oh my grandfather (*N-yaab yee*)'. And when the funeral is concluded the son's children and the brothers' sons' children will have their heads shaved in mourning in the manner prescribed for grandchildren. Half the head will be shaved and half left unshaved.

The equivalence of alternate generations is shown by the fact that a grandson may marry the widow of his paternal or maternal grandfather, or of any man whom he calls grandfather, other than his own grandmother. This rule is of practical significance when an old man dies leaving a young widow, and all the men of his inner lineage are either 'sons' or 'grandsons' to him. Then the grandsons who are old enough are encouraged to woo the widow, and the elders of the lineage put pressure on her to choose one of them so that she can remain a wife of that lineage. It was thus that Tiezien married his own paternal grandfather's youngest widow. At that time she had a young infant at the breast who was Tiezien's own father's half-brother. Tiezien was then about 18 or 19. He thus had the unusual experience of bringing up a child who was his proxy father. To-day Tiezien, a vigorous man of about 70, is ritual head of Kpata'ar; but his proxy father Nyaaŋzum, whom he reared, is the head of their inner lineage. Tiezien was made politico-religious head of the clan (*Kpata'ar na'ab*) over Nyaaŋzum's head according to the rule that 'begetting does not cross the *dug*';[1] but within their *dug* he is nominally subject to Nyaaŋzum's authority. This might lead to considerable friction between them if they were not as devoted to each other as they are. The marriage of a grandson with his grandfather's widow is, however, an uncommon occurrence, chiefly

[1] Headship of the clan, in this case, goes by selection from amongst the eligible elders, but usually comes to the oldest man in the clan. Tiezien could, however, not have accepted the offer without the consent of his proxy father, Nyaaŋzum.

3: Fortes E-5 (1934-1937) 1949
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because it is not very usual for a man to have a grandson old enough to take a wife, when he dies, and also to leave a young widow.

The converse marriage of a grandfather with the widow of his 'grandson' of the same inner lineage is said to be permissible but not good. Tallensi think it is incongruous and therefore likely to be unlucky. I learnt of only one such case that has occurred in recent years, and my informants pointed out that all the children born of the marriage had died.

Old women make use of this rule when they are left widows. A widow must either remarry one of her husband's clansmen or else go home to her father's house and marry from there as if she were a spinster. For an old widow remarriage is a formality since she is past child-bearing, and will in any case live with her sons. So when she is asked to choose her new husband from amongst those of her late husband's clansmen who offer her marriage *pro forma*, she often announces, 'I choose a grandson (*man luogəra yaaŋ*)'. She thus satisfies the formal requirements and can go on living with her sons.

Within the lineage inter-personal relations of grandparent and grandchild are not extended beyond the inner lineage—that is, the range within which generation differences between individuals are recognized; but the term *yaab* is applied to any patrilineal ancestor except the father. On the mother's side only the mother's own parents and proxy parents are recognized as grandparents; but any lineage with which a person has matrilateral connexions is described as his *yaab yiri*. Thus any patrilineal ancestor's mother's lineage is a *yaab yiri*; and the letter of custom entitles a man to marry the widow of any member of his *yaab yiri*. In practice such marriages are exceedingly rare, for the widow's husband's lineage-brothers and clansmen resent them strongly. But there have been one or two instances in the past generation in which a young widow eloped with her deceased husband's classificatory *yaaŋ*. What the outraged members of the deceased husband's lineage most resent is that they cannot claim the return of the bride-price. The only sanction they can use is to refuse to sacrifice to their ancestors on behalf of the 'grandson' who has so flouted them; but this is a double-edged weapon. They may not use it, since the 'grandson' was within his formal rights in marrying one of their widows. Hence they would arouse the wrath of their ancestors if they sought to penalize their 'grandson' ritually. This extension of leviratic rights to matrilateral kin is associated with the notion that a woman might have been born a man but for the intervention of chance, and her descendants might therefore have been of the true agnatic line. It will be better understood when we have considered the relations of mother's brother and sister's son (Ch. XI below).

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604 Our discussion has been concerned with the relationship of a person to his or her own father's sister, and we have noted that the bonds of sentiment between father's sister and brother's child seldom extend beyond the nuclear lineage of the latter. A person recognizes the sister of any man in the inner lineage or medial lineage whom he calls 'father' as his *ba-pɔk*. But whereas a woman has a strong personal interest in and often affection for her full or half-brother's children, and generally also takes a personal interest in her father's brothers' sons' children, the tendency is for the relationship to become more formal beyond that range. This is largely due to the fact that contacts between a woman and the children of her distant brothers of the same inner or medial lineage are usually rare, as compared with her contacts with children of her own nuclear lineage. But the appropriate norms of behaviour hold to the limits of the range of recognized generation differences and may be evoked in suitable circumstances. Beyond the range of the inner, or at most medial lineage, a woman of a person's father's generation is not recognized as a *ba-pɔk*, but is described as a 'sister' (*tau*) and thus classed with all the non-specifically related clanswomen.

603 604 A woman calls her brothers' children's children her grandchildren (*yaas*), and she may be very fond of them, if she has opportunities of seeing them often. Gɛlima, a childless old widow who had come to live out the last few years of her life at her oldest brother's house, was often teased good-humouredly by her brothers and brothers' sons because of her attachment to the latter's small children. In theory the joking relationship holds for grandchild and grandfather's sister. In practice it is modified by the tendency to class together father's sisters and agnatic grandfather's sisters, who are usually described by the term *ba-pɔk* or its equivalent *pugərəba*. A person identifies himself (or herself) with his father in relation to the latter's father's sister, not only on account of the dominance of the lineage principle, but also, and mainly, because he does so in relation to the woman's husband and children. He thinks of the woman's husband as an 'in-law (*deema*)' and of her children as *ahəs*. And this is facilitated by residential separation and the identification of an old woman with the affairs and interests of her husband's lineage and clan. Thus cases like that of Gɛlima are the exception. The majority of old women see so little of their brothers' grandchildren that their relationship with them is purely formal and perfunctory.

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economic and social activities there is co-operation, friendliness and tolerance, almost equality. This is more marked between father and child than between mother and child. A father is always addressed by his personal name, a mother is always called *mma*, my mother. Affectively, however, a powerful tension exists between parent and child. A parent's authority may not be flouted, though he or she is expected to be affectionate and indulgent. Sin, in Tale ideology, is primarily an offence against the person, status, or rights of the living parents, or the parent-images—the ancestor spirits.

The structure of this relationship makes it possible for children to acquiesce immediately in the commands and teachings of their parents or parent-substitutes. Children are, as a rule, very obedient. If they refuse to carry out an order there is usually some very valid reason—acknowledged as such by both parents and children—such as that it is some one else's turn. But the parent-child relationship is educationally fundamental in another sense—it is the paradigm of all moral relationships.

It is worth noting, by contrast, that the relationship between grandparent and grandchild is the reverse of that between parent and child. In this case equality, compatibility and partisanship, as if in league against the generation between them, are emphasized, more particularly by the joking relationship—mutual ragging among the Tallensi—permitted between grandparent and grandchild.

The social space. How these relationships function in the educational development of a Tale child is determined by its social space.[1] An individual's social space is a product of that segment of the social structure and that segment of the habitat with which he or she is in effective contact. To put it in another way, the social space is the society in its ecological setting seen from the individual's point of view. The individual creates his social space but is himself in turn formed by it. On the one hand, his range of experiences and behaviour are controlled by his social space, and on the other, everything he learns causes it to expand and become more differentiated. In the lifetime of the individual it changes *pari passu* with his psycho-physical and social development.

[1] This term is employed here for want of an apter one. It has been used in a different sense by Simmel and others.